

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 ACDA-10 NSC-10 NSCE-00 PM-03

INR-10 CIAE-00 DRC-01 RSC-01 /060 W

----- 023151

R 171721Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9326

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 18106

LIMDIS NOFORN

SHAPE FOR INTAF: VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO, EEC

SUBJECT: MBFR: EUROPEAN COMMUNITY COOPERATION

REF: (AL VIENNA 10351, (B) BONN 6912, (C) BONN 6465 AND
BONN A-300, (D) LONDON 14313, AND (E) BONN 4803

BEGIN SUMMARY: FRG FAVORS EC POLITICAL COMMITTEE CON-
SULTATIONS ON MBFR BUT IS COOL TO MEETINGS OF EUROPEAN
SUBGROUP OF VIENNA AHG. WE ARE TOLD TWO LUNCHEON
MEETINGS OF EC-7 IN VIENNA PRODUCED LIST OF MBFR
"DON'TS" RE IMPLICATIONS FOR EUROPEAN UNION. WITH
SECRETARY'S RECENT REMARKS IN MIND, BONN BELIEVES ANY
EC-9 CONSULTATIONS ON MBFR MUST BE RESTRICTED TO
IMPLICATIONS FOR EUROPE AND BE DISCUSSED CLOSELY WITH
U.S. UNLIKE BEHREND'S, WE THINK MARKEDLY NEGATIVE FRG
POSITION ON MBFR NEGOTIATIONS UNLIKELY TO DEVELOP IF
U.S. ADHERES TO POSITION THAT AMERICAN FORCES WILL BE
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REDUCED ONLY IN AGREED ALLIED MBFR FRAMEWORK. END

SUMMARY

1. FRG DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER ROTH TOLD EMBOFF DEC 14 HE BELIEVES THE EC-9 SHOULD CONSULT ON IMPLICATION OF MBFR FOR EUROPEAN UNION BUT THAT SUCH CONSULTATIONS SHOULD TAKE PLACE UNDER THE UMBRELLA OF THE EC POLITICAL COMMITTEE RATHER THAN IN A EUROPEAN SUBGROUP OF THE VIENNA MBFR AD HOC GROUP. ROTH SAID HE FULLY SHARES U.S. CONCERN THAT CONSULTATIONS IN VIENNA OF ONLY SEVEN EC STATES COULD BE DIVISIVE OF ALLIED UNITY IN AHG. HE NOTED SUCH CONSULTATIONS ALSO WOULD LEAVE OUT CANADA AND SEVERAL NON-EC EUROPEAN ALLIES (I.E., GREECE, TURKEY, NORWAY, ETC.). HE ALSO NOTED THAT NEITHER FRANCE NOR IRELAND, BOTH EC PARTNERS, HAD PARTICIPATED IN VIENNA CONSULTATIONS OF EC STATES AND THAT THIS COULD BE DISRUPTIVE OF EC UNITY.

2. ROTH SAID THE EC-7 SO FAR HAVE HAD ONLY TWO LUNCHEON TYPE MEETINGS, INITIATED BY ITALY, AND THAT, AS REPORTED REF A, THESE SESSIONS FOCUSED EXCLUSIVELY ON A SPECIFIC LIST OF DON'TS RELATED TO IMPLICATIONS FOR EUROPEAN UNION. HE RECALLED THAT, AT THE BEHEST OF THE U.K. (REF B), ITALY ALSO HAD INITIATED THE SHORT LIVED EC POLITICAL COMMITTEE DISCUSSION OF MBFR LAST SPRING. ROTH SAID THE EC-7 WERE NOT AUTHORIZED TO TAKE COMMON EUROPEAN STEPS BUT RATHER, ONLY TO REPORT TO THEIR GOVERNMENTS. HE SAID HE WOULD TELL FRG AMBASSADOR BEHREND, UPON THE LATTER'S RETURN TO BONN, TO DO HIS BEST TO TERMINATE OR AT LEAST SEVERELY RESTRICT SUCH VIENNA SESSIONS IN THE FUTURE.

3. WE GATHER FROM ROTH'S REMARKS AND U.S. DEL MBFR REF A REPORT THAT EUROPEAN CONSENSUS ON A LIST OF "DON'TS" CORRESPONDS CLOSELY TO POINTS IN ITALIAN PAPER ON MBFR CONSIDERED LAST SPRING IN POLITICAL COMMITTEE (SEE REF C FOR TEXT). IN PARTICULAR, EMPHASIS ON AVOIDING NATIONAL FORCE LEVEL SUBCEILINGS WITHIN EUROPEAN COMMUNITY FOLLOWS CLOSELY FROM EARLIER ITALIAN PAPER AND IS CONSISTENT WITH ROTH'S IDEA, REPORTED BONN 18052, THAT NATO AND WP MIGHT EACH
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DETERMINE RESPECTIVE NATIONAL COMPONENTS OF MBFR II REDUCTIONS.

4. WHILE SKEPTICAL OF EC CONSULTATIONS IN VIENNA, ROTH SAID BONN CONSIDERED IT IMPORTANT THAT THE EC POLITICAL COMMITTEE DISCUSS IMPLICATIONS OF AN MBFR FOR EUROPEAN UNION. HE OBSERVED THAT SOME ASPECTS OF MBFR AFFECT EC-9 INTERESTS DIFFERENTLY THAN THEY WOULD

AFFECT THE INTERESTS OF THE U.S. ON THE OTHER HAND,
ROTH SAID THE FRG FULLY UNDERSTOOD SECRETARY
KISSINGER'S MESSAGE AT NATO MINISTERIAL AND IN LONDON
PILGRIM'S SPEECH. NATO AND THE VIENNA AHG MUST REMAIN
THE BASIC FORA FOR ALLIED MBFR CONSULTATIONS AND ANY

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 ACDA-10 NSC-10 NSCE-00 PM-03

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AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS
USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 18106

LIMDIS NOFORN

MBFR ISSUES DISCUSSED BY EC-9 MUST BE DISCUSSED WITH THE
U.S. BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER SUCH EC CONSULTATIONS.

5. COMMENT. WE BELIEVE THE PRIORITY ATTACHED BY SCHEEL
TO "UNHAMPERED EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENTS...OVER A COMPETI-
TIVE MBFR AGREEMENT" IS CLEARLY DESIGNED TO PUT TSERVE
IES ON NOTICE THAT BONN CANNOT ACCEPT MBFR AGREEMENTS
ENTAILING IMPEDIMENTS IN THE PATH OF THE EUROPEAN
INTEGRATION PROCESS. SCHEEL'S STATEMENT, WHICH IS
MEANT TO REASSURE PARIS, LONDON AND OTHER ALLIED
CAPITALS CONCERNED OVER FUTURE GERMAN POLITICAL
INTENTIONS, RECALLS THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S RECENT
ASSERTION AT WIESBADEN FDP PARTY CONFERENCE THAT
"EUROPEAN UNITY TAKES VERY TOP PRIORITY IN FRG FOREIGN

POLICY" (BONN 16596). CAUTION, INSISTENCE ON CALCULABILITY AND CONCERN FOR POSSIBLE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES HAVE ALWAYS CHARACTERIZED THE GERMAN MBFR POSTURE, PARTICULARLY AS THE MIT AND THEN MBFR NEGOTIATIONS DREW NEARER. HOWEVER, WE TEND TO THINK BEHREND'S WARNING OF A GRAVITATION OF FRG TOWARD GENERALLY NEGATIVE BRITISH OR OVERALL NEGATIVE FRENCH POSITIONS TOWARD
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MBFR (REF A, PARA 5) IS RATHER UNLIKELY IN THE SHORT RUN OR AS LONG AS USG MAINTAINS POSITION THAT AMERICAN MILITARY CONTINGENTS WILL ONLY BE REDUCED IN AGREED ALLIED MBFR FRAMEWORK. THIS IS BECAUSE FRG IS FULLY COGNIZANT, AS ROTH, RUTH AND THEIR SUPERIORS HAVE OFTEN EMPHASIZED TO US, THAT MBFR IS THE ESSENTIAL INSTRUMENT IN BEATING BACK PRESSURES FOR SUBSTANTIAL AMERICAN TROOP REDUCTIONS. WE THINK A TRULY NEGATIVE GERMAN ATTITUDE TO MBFR AND SUPPORT FOR HANDLING ALLIED TROOP CUTS STRICTLY WITHIN WESTERN COUNCILS, LA JULIA ITCHLY, WOULD ONLY BE LIKELY TO DEVELOP IN THE FACE OF INSURMOUNTABLE CONGRESSIONAL PRESSURES FOR UNILATERAL U.S. REDUCTIONS. MEANWHILE, BONN IS LIKELY TO SEEK THROUGH POLITICAL COMMITTEE DISCUSSIONS IF POSSIBLE, OR INFORMAL VIENNA MEETINGS OF EC IF NECESSARY, TO STAY IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH THEIR EUROPEAN COMMUNITY PARTNERS ON IMPLICATIONS OF MBFR FOR EUROPE AND ON HOW BEST TO COUNTER ANY PERCEIVED DANGERS.

6. DEPT PLEASE REPEAT TO OTHER NATO CAPITALS IF DESIRED.
HILLENBRAND

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